

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

THERE is an old saying that is worth remembering in difficult times like these—that there are two very bad counsellors for man: one is fear and the other is hatred. We very soon lose our perspective and our judgment if we begin to listen to the whisperings of either of those enemies of mankind . . .

I always feel that my opinions have got some solid foundation when they are grounded in history and are less liable to be swayed by the emotional passions and prejudices of the contemporary world. Moreover I do not think you can see the present position fairly without just weighing for a moment the origins and the outcome of the last war, because what is going on now is in great measure a corrective of some of the things that were done at the end of it.

The Treaty of Versailles, as you all remember, was based on the thesis of the sole guilt of Germany. There was a clause in that treaty which compelled Germany to admit her guilt, and it was from that admission of guilt that the legalistic French mind justified a great many of the decisions which have since been operating in Europe. I am not going to argue the war-guilt clause here and now, except to express my own conviction, having

HITLER and NAPOLEON

EVEN the handful of Englishmen—a handful that included many men of genius—who welcomed the outbreak of the French Revolution began to draw the line when Napoleon emerged from the turmoil. Revolution for the rights of man was one thing. Napoleonic imperialism quite another. And from the first year of the 19th century until he was safely cooped up in St. Helena, Buonaparte was no less an ogre to the vast majority of Englishmen than Hitler is today.

Yet some of Napoleon's achievements were enduring. No-one would now dream of denying the genius he displayed in re-organizing the civil administration of France. In essentials his civil creation has endured until now, and a good deal of it is likely to endure even beyond the present catastrophe of France. The creative-destructive work of Napoleon was one of the chief formative influences on 19th century Europe.

Mr. Churchill has vehemently repudiated the idea of any comparison between Hitler and Napoleon; and it is perfectly true that no simple comparison between them can be drawn. In some respects, indeed, they appear almost antithetical. Compare the wild enthusiasm with which young Heinrich Heine greeted the entry of the French legions into Düsseldorf with the feelings of despair that the arrival of the German army would inspire in a young Jew today. The advent of Napoleon meant liberation, in the traditional liberal sense of the word: the advent of Hitler does not.

But two things need to be remembered. First, that the great mass of contemporary Englishmen regarded the prospect of liberation by Napoleon as indistinguishable from tyranny; and second, that the impulse of liberation which Napoleon so powerfully gave to a feudal Europe has since come to a dead end. If we could imagine that Hitler wanted to be a liberator, from what would he liberate Europe? Britain maintains that the first need of Europe is to be liberated from Hitler. He can hardly be expected to take the lead in that enterprise. Moreover, a hundred and forty years ago, we told ourselves that we were engaged in liberating Europe from Napoleon. It was not for many years that we could bring ourselves to admit that Napoleon was doing a good deal more liberating than ourselves.

Probably, much the same ambiguous process is happening today. Although

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This is the text of an address by the late

LORD LOTHIAN

to the Royal Institute of International Affairs on March 24, 1938, in which he described

How the War Came

read a great many books about the origins of the War, that the doctrine of the sole guilt will not hold water at all.

Of course the War was just an episode, a very important episode, in the collision of forces which go to make up human history. It was partly the result of a conflict which has re-appeared since the War, the conflict between what are called the late comers and the early comers, the Haves and the Have-Nots. Germany, then as now, was a late comer. It was partly the outcome of the historic conflict between Slav and Teuton for control over or predominant influence in the Balkans . . . Finally the most immediately decisive cause of the War was the military time-table . . .

EFFECT OF PROPAGANDA

Coming now to the Versailles period, you will find that what happened at Paris was two fundamentally contradictory things. On the one hand there was the peace settlement made by the victorious democracies, and, believe me, democracies can get as wrong-headed about foreign affairs as anybody else, especially after having been influenced for four years by war-time propaganda.

As a result of the beliefs we all had at that time about the origins of the war there was a very stiff peace treaty. I do not think anybody disputes that now. Germany lost all her colonies and all her foreign investments and one seventh of her European territory; she was unilaterally disarmed, the Rhineland was demilitarized, and quite fantastic reparations were placed on her back. There are few people who today think the treaty was a perfectly fair and balanced interpretation of the Fourteen Wilsonian Points upon which the Armistice was signed.

But what is not, I think, generally realized is that what followed the war was far more fatal, at any rate in its consequences for Europe, than what was done at Versailles. Because whatever you may think about the Big Three, Lloyd George, Wilson and Clemenceau, they were wiser men than perhaps most people would now admit, and they knew quite well that they were imposing upon Germany terms of peace which would have to be revised. It was impossible in their view to be more moderate at that time because the Peace Conference consisted of some twenty nations excited by four years of fighting and bitter losses, misled, if you like, by war-time propaganda; and there was no possibility of re-educating the democracies in the six months that lay between the Armistice and the signing of the Peace Treaties. But they did provide the means which they believed would bring about the revision of the Versailles terms in our time . . .

SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES

France built up her system of alliances in Eastern Europe, the main purpose of which was to enforce the Treaty of Versailles, especially by the unilateral disarmament of Germany and the demilitarization of the Rhineland which left Germany militarily at her mercy, and was the real basis of European peace during all the years when the League was at its zenith . . . Finally, what really killed the Disarmament Conference was the un-

willingness of France to agree to disarmament or to agree to any re-armament by Germany unless she was given in an effective form the guarantee of security originally represented by the Anglo-American guarantee . . . So that the withdrawal of the United States was really a far more serious thing for Europe than the Treaty of Versailles itself, because instead of the terms of the Treaty being revised, it meant that their effect was immensely intensified and prolonged. The outcome was far worse than anything contemplated by the Big Four at Paris.

OUTCOME OF HISTORY

We ought to face honestly the main result of all that history. I do not think there is any doubt that its main outcome was the triumph of Herr Hitler and the National Socialist regime. Nobody who had contacts with Stresemann during these years, still more with Brüning, will forget the way in which they came and said "Unless you make some concession to the Republic now, nothing can prevent Germany yielding to those who say you can get nothing from the Allies by appeals to justice; you can only get your freedom by strength and violence."

Brüning came over and over again, but for various reasons, quite easy to understand, nothing was done. And therefore there eventually came into being a regime that believes that the method of attaining not only internal unity and strength, but also all international ends, is force. Yet the hideous internal persecution and repression of all who will not bow to the regime is in great measure only the outcome of the persecution and repression which were inflicted on Germany for fifteen years from outside.

That is the psychological explanation of recent events. Nothing will convince me that what is going on in Germany represents the normal attitude of the normal German. Germany is in an unnatural pathological state as the result of the history of the last twenty years. It convinced Germans, or the mass of them, that the Hitler thesis was right: that what counted in international affairs was not the sincerity or the rightness of your claims but your power to secure what you wanted by your own discipline, strength and force . . .

I have felt for the last three years that the most imperative thing was to go and have a real talk with the Germans as to what the basis of a lasting peace should be. Perhaps it was because I felt that they had legitimate grievances which had to be removed before there could be peace. But I felt also that the time to negotiate with Germany was when Hitler was offering to be content with an army of two or three hundred thousand men or an air force half that of France, or one third of the neighbouring air forces, whichever was the smaller. That was the time to negotiate.

HITLER'S CHANCE

And now Hitler, by methods which we cannot help deplore because of the shock they give elsewhere, has at last realized the dream of the German people—the dream they have dreamed for three hundred years—to be a united people, as Italy is a united people and France is a united people and England is a united people and every

THE CRUCIAL YEAR

SUPPORT for the Fighting Fund is flagging a little. Please examine your conscience about it. 1941 will, almost certainly, be a crucial year for the development of the thought and policy of pacifism; and we need the inspiration that comes from the steady flow of your support. Contributions during last week amounted to £37 8s. 11½d. bringing the total to £1,265 14s 11d.

THE EDITOR

other race in Europe is a united people except the Germans.

Thus the whole Versailles settlement was not only "stiff" but was turned against what is, I think, the most powerful political movement of the time, the urge toward racial and national unity. You saw evidence of this underlying tendency in 1921 when a plebiscite was held in the Tyrol in which 144,000 voted for union with Germany and only 1,700 against it. In another plebiscite at Salzburg 103,000 voted for union with Germany and 800 against it.

Almost the last act of Chancellor Brüning was to say, "Give me the Anschluss, and I may be able to save my country from yielding to the National Socialists." And that was denied because of a manoeuvred political decision by the International Court at the Hague. So that I cannot help feeling that we (by "we" I mean the dominant Allied Powers) are largely responsible for the situation that confronts us today.

If another war comes and the history of it is ever written, the dispassionate historian a hundred years hence will not say that Germany alone was responsible for it, even if she strikes the first blow, but that those who mismanaged the world between 1918 and 1937 had a large share of responsibility for it.

Commentary

Mr Hopkins and Peace Aims

Edited by "Observer"

IT appears to be generally accepted that one of the main purposes of the visit to England of Mr. Harry Hopkins, the personal representative of President Roosevelt, is to obtain further information concerning Britain's peace-aims. "The American people," says the New York correspondent of the Sunday Times (Jan. 12), "are being asked to make heavy sacrifices and an assurance that British war-aims tally with the aims of American policy as enunciated by the President would give Mr. Roosevelt a convincing argument against his Congress opponents."

This is all very well; but we have yet to learn what President Roosevelt's peace-aims are. No doubt his mind is more open to new ideas than that of any other democratic statesman. But it is not easy even for him to form a plan relevant to the needs of Europe. So far he has expressed himself, more vigorously perhaps, but in substantially the same kind of vague generalities as our own official spokesmen.

The American "Opposition"

MR. Wendell Willkie is coming to England, with President Roosevelt's approval, to examine the situation on the spot. That suggests that there will be no official Republican opposition to the new powers the President is demanding to implement his new policy—but only opposition from individuals.

By British standards those powers are almost dictatorial, in particular, the article whereby the President alone shall decide the consideration for which supplies will be granted to Britain. But it is in the American tradition that the powers of the President should be much greater than those exercised by anyone under the British system; and it is unlikely that there will be substantial opposition on that score.

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COMMENTARY

The potential value of such opposition as there will be lies in its power of extracting from the President some formal and historical formulation of American peace-aims—the "14 points of 1941."

Europe's Freedom

THE idea of "restoring Europe's freedom from Nazi domination" is quite simply insufficient. Europe's freedom cannot be restored. It may sound plausible. But the fact is that any freedom that Europe will enjoy will have to be created. A radically new political and economic pattern will have to be devised, or evolved.

The Times gropes after a formulation of the problem, first, by declaring that Hitler's "new order" cannot be validly countered by an intention to restore the independent sovereign nations of Europe, and, second, by maintaining that the aim must be "interdependence, not independence." I have no quarrel with that. To criticize it for vagueness is unreasonable unless I am myself prepared with a definite plan of the United States of Europe. I am not.

But the argument of The Times, as all our arguments do, presupposes the military defeat of Germany upon the continent; which seems highly improbable unless a huge American army is employed in Europe. This intention President Roosevelt has explicitly disclaimed. Furthermore, the argument neglects one element of strength in the German position; namely, that German domination does at least spare its victims the horrors of war. Occupied France would dearly like to be quit of the Germans; but if the price to be paid for getting rid of them was re-entry into the war, I have not much doubt that the French would prefer to stay as they are.

British-American Hopes

WHAT likelihood, then, is there that any British-American plan for the re-ordering of Europe will ever be put into effect? The present American proposals, ambitious as they are, envisage no more than the saving of Britain from defeat. Whether the popular theory that American productive capacity will enable Britain eventually to secure the mastery of the air has any solid foundation I am incompetent to say still less, whether such mastery of the air, supposing it were achieved, would enable a colossal British-American army to be landed on the Continent. But it seems improbable, seeing that German mastery of the air has not enabled the Germans to land an army in England so far.

The consensus of opinion is that Hitler is preparing an onslaught of unparalleled vehemence of this island for the spring. Assume that it fails; there still remains much to do to secure England from defeat. Above all, the German attack on British shipping has to be far more decisively mastered than it has been yet. But both these uncertainties will be decided within the next six months. If they are decided in our favour, what then?

Turn of the Tide

THEN, it seems there might be some solid reason for believing that the tide had turned against the Germans; and possibly the condition of peril in which Britain would continuously be standing would so have worked upon the American people that the reluctance to send a huge army to Europe would have disappeared. Since, by hypothesis, the German attack on the Atlantic shipping would have been largely overcome, in time it could be transported to Europe. It would be a long time; for nothing less than an army of four or five million men is in question.

On the other hand, the mere prospect of it would cause the Germans to begin to despair; they would be haunted by the fear of a grim repetition of the finale in 1918. So that assuming that the German attack in this year is defeated, it is conceivable that the Nazi power would eventually collapse. And certainly, if Britain does succeed in struggling through 1941, it is very unlikely that she will be prepared to make peace at any point short of German surrender.

Dark Prospects

THUS the prospects of peace appear very dark indeed. Peace while the full weight of the German attack is impending is practically unthinkable. If the attack succeeds, the question is settled. If not, peace without British victory will become practically unthinkable, unless (this seems the crux of the matter) the Americans are really determined to hold the President to his undertaking not to send an army to Europe, or unless the threat of sending or withholding such an army is used by the President to compel both Britain and Germany to peace on American terms. This, or some variation of it, seems a good deal more probable than a British-American victory which requires the unlikely fulfilment of many difficult conditions.

In any case, all such speculation ignores entirely the actual conditions in which the British people will be required to live. Thus

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it now appears that the annual excess of expenditure over taxation and savings is about £1,600 millions, which has to be covered by increases in taxation or in savings, if inflation is to be avoided. The present return of taxation and savings together is about £2,900 millions. That means that two-thirds as much again will have to be raised from these sources.

Eire's Precarious Position

THERE is alarm about Eire. The suggestion is widespread that the Germans are preparing an attack upon it. And such is the nature of the new propaganda-medium in which we live that this may either be an attempt to imitate German methods, or a deduction from the fact that German propaganda is busy warning the world that Britain is contemplating an armed occupation of Eire. Frankly, I do not believe it. But that Eire's position is increasingly precarious is obvious. I devoutly hope that she succeeds in preserving her independence and her neutrality. She has enjoyed them both for such a little while in comparison with the length of the grim British tyranny, that it would be a major tragedy were she to be involved in the chaos of war.

Economic Policy

CRITICISM of the re-shuffle in the controls of Government economic policy is general, the feeling being that the more it changes, the more it is the same thing. And that is inevitable. A conscious planning of production with the sole aim of maximum efficiency necessarily involves sweeping aside all kinds of interests—not merely those of the owners.

For so drastic a change of their social and economic habits the British people is not prepared. At the level of pious generalization only are we ready to place our persons and our property at the disposal of the State. When it comes down to brass tacks innumerable resistances make themselves felt.

Nor is it fair simply to dismiss them as "selfish." British "selfishness" is one aspect of the individualism of which British "freedom" is another. And I think that many of those who criticize the hesitation of the Government will prove to be just as unwilling as others to pay the price of removing it.

The Pope's Five Points

THE Pope's Five Peace Points, which have recently been endorsed by the two Archbishops, Cardinal Hinsley, and the Moderator of the Free Church Council, can be summarized as follows:—

- (1) Every nation, great or small, has a right to life and independence.
- (2) The nations must be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments, and from the tyrannical use of material force.
- (3) There must be adequate provision for guaranteeing the peace-settlement and, when necessary, for revising it.
- (4) The real needs and the just demands of nations and populations and of racial minorities must receive special attention.

M. K. Gandhi addressed these words to the readers of the last issue, before suspension on Nov. 10, 1940 of his paper, **Harijan**

YOU must have seen through my press notice that the publication of **Harijan** and the other two weeklies had been suspended. In it, I had expressed the hope that the suspension might be only for a week. But I see that the hope had no real foundation.

I shall miss my weekly talks with you, as I expect you too will miss them. The value of those talks consisted in their being a faithful record of my deepest thoughts. Such expression is impossible in a cramped atmosphere. As I have no desire to offer civil disobedience, I cannot write freely. As the author of satyagraha, I cannot, consistently with my professions, suppress the vital part of myself for the sake of being able to write on permissible subjects such as the constructive programme. It would be like dealing with the trunk without the head.

The whole of the constructive programme is to me an expression of non-violence. I would be denying myself if I could not preach non-violence. For that would be the meaning of submission to the latest ordinance. The suspension must, therefore continue while the gagging lasts. It constitutes a satyagrahi's respectful protest against the gag. Is not satyagraha giving an ell when an inch is asked for by the wrong-doer; is it not giving the cloak also when only the coat is demanded?

NON-VIOLENT METHOD

It may be asked why this reversal of the ordinary process? The ordinary

(5) To achieve these ends the peoples and their rulers must be inspired by a sense of their responsibility to God, by a passion for justice, and by love of humanity.

A Great Advance

TO these five points the following five were added by the representatives of the Church in England.

- (1) Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished.
 - (2) Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities.
 - (3) The family as a social unit must be safeguarded.
 - (4) The sense of a divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work.
 - (5) The resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.
- Granted that these ten principles are only principles, and that everything depends upon their application, there is no doubt that they are vastly in advance of the sentiment and opinion of the nation as a whole, and almost equally in advance of the thought of the average Church member. It would be a valuable piece of work if Church members of the P.P.U. would request their priests and ministers to expound these principles from the pulpit.

British Propaganda

A LEAFLET dropped by the RAF over Germany at Christmas has come into my hands. It is well done. "Peace on Earth" is the title.

"If only it were over!" The thought of the peace that is coming is the one hope of every German today. You pray for victory over England and her Allies. Not that you have any desire for further victories. You have had enough victory, and you know quite well that victories have only a very transient practical meaning. But—they have told you—"only one more victory", and then it will be Peace.

But no victory of National Socialist Germany can bring peace. The greed and megalomania of your rulers are boundless; for them every victory can only be the prelude to more wars.

There is only one way to restore peace. Only when the lords of the German war-machine disappear once for all—only then will there be peace on earth again.

But instead of stopping there, it goes on. I will not say how it goes on. But it goes on in a way which would, if I were a German, harden my soul.

Without Comment

"FOR Winston Churchill, Victor Mundi," is the only inscription on a box which will be handed over to the Prime Minister at Downing-street by the Dutch Minister in London, Jonkheer E. Michiels van Verduynen. "Victor Mundi" means "Victor of the World".

The box, says *Vrij Nederland*, the Free Dutch newspaper published in London, contains special cigars from the Dutch East Indies which have just arrived in England.

process is based on violence. If my life is regulated by violence in the last resort, I would refuse to give an inch lest an ell might be asked for. I would be a fool if I did otherwise.

But if my life is regulated by non-violence, I should be prepared to and actually give an ell when an inch is asked for. By so doing I produce on the usurper a strange and even pleasurable sensation. He would also be confounded and would not know what to do with me.

So much for the "enemy". I, having made up my mind to surrender every non-essential, gain greater strength than ever before to die for the defence and preservation of what I hold to be essential. I was therefore wrongly accused by my critics of having advised cowardly surrender to Nazism by Englishmen when I suggested that they should lay down external arms, let the Nazis overrun Britain if they dare, but develop internal strength to refuse to sell themselves to the Nazis. Full surrender of non-essentials is a condition precedent to accession of internal strength to defend the essential by dying.

But I am not writing this to convert the English to my view. I am writing this to suggest to you that my surrender to the framers of the gagging ordinance is an object-lesson to you, the reader, in satyagraha. If you will quietly work out in your own life the implications of the lesson, you will then not need the weekly aid from the written word in **Harijan**.

Even without your weekly **Harijan** you will know how I shall myself work out the full implications of giving an ell when an inch is wanted. A correspondent pleads with me that on no account should I suspend **Harijan**, for he says his non-violence is sustained by the weekly food he gets therefrom. If he has really done so, then this self-imposed restraint should teach him more than a rapid continuation of weekly **Harijan**.

LORD PONSONBY

Discusses Some

"Personal Problems"

MAY I respond to the suggestion made by Marcella Horman in *Peace News* (December 27) and say a word about what she calls "the general technique of talking to people outside the fold"? She is right in considering it important because casual words in conversation may carry further sometimes than a speech, leaflet, or even a book.

The steering of a conversation must of course depend on the personality of the person addressed. But we may leave out of account the vociferous jingo because in any case he won't listen. Silence here is best, because he is not worth "the compliment of rational opposition." Even so, he is likely, before he loses breath, to make some preposterous remark and an opportunity may present itself in a pause to hammer down his false coin to the counter with decision, brevity and finality.

But the otherwise sympathetic friend or acquaintance is a more difficult proposition. Try to start from some point of sympathy—perhaps political: faulty policy, our guarantees and commitments in cases where we could not help, or the progress of the war—how the barbarous mutual bombing can go on without reaching any military culmination.

Some "Don'ts"

Never say anything disparaging about the fighting forces or those who conscientiously support the war. Do not enlarge on the fundamental principles of pacifists, but work up towards them by questioning whether violence can destroy ideas, whether dictators are not best dealt with by their own people, and whether we have not enormously strengthened Hitler by declaring war on Germany.

You might ask whether we are not fighting Hitler to prove that might is not right; and shall we not prove that might is right by beating him? Do not try and cover too much ground: judge the sort of points on which he is likely to be more sympathetic. The parallel of the last war, the crushing of German militarism, the deposition of the Kaiser and the consequent need of a negotiated peace are arguments difficult to meet.

More "Don'ts"

But do not try to corner him, score off him, or put him in a hole. Do not bewilder him, and on no account anger him. Give him something to take away and think over.

Be on your guard when you suspect someone of trying to draw you by appearing to be more sympathetic than he really is. Let him do the talking and confine yourself to interruptions and answers. But be careful of being led away by irrelevant side issues or extreme hypotheses.

The best you can hope for is: "I see what you mean. You don't carry me all the way. But I should like to hear more." Then he must be followed up. Even "Very interesting, but you don't persuade me," may mean that something you said may be remembered. Do not become a bore by trotting out your creed on every occasion.

Bide your time and choose your moment. It may sometimes be, not in a sit-down conversation, but in a passing remark.

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Sunday, 26th January — 2 p.m.

CHINESE PACIFISM

Studies in the Theory and Practice of Peace and War in Chinese History and Literature. By Leonard Tomkinson. Published for the Friends' Centre, Shanghai, by Christian Literature Society, 1940.

Reviewed By
LAURENCE HOUSMAN

THE streak of pacifism which runs through Chinese history and literature from the time of Confucius (BC 550) onward, is more apparent and continuous than in the history of any race of Western civilization.

The idea of pacifism, either as a matter of practical politics or of reasonable philosophy, is more respectfully treated in the various schools of thought and in most of the periods of Chinese history than it has been in the West. In none of them, except in that of the "Legalists," is pacifism scouted in favour of militarism as a higher ideal; and it is only in that school that anything in the direction of aggressive warfare is commended as a policy worthy of respect.

Nevertheless, absolute pacifism is not to be found in the teaching of any school, and the explanation may be that, throughout the whole of its long history, it has been a pacifism of the head, not of the heart. This is well expressed by a Chinese writer of the present day, who says:

Pacifism is a matter of high human understanding. If a man could learn to be a little more cynical, he would also be less inclined toward warfare. This, perhaps, is why all intelligent men are cowards. The Chinese are the world's worst fighters because they are an intelligent race, backed and nurtured by Taoist cynicism, and the Confucian emphasis on harmony as the ideal of life. They do not fight because they are the most calculating and self-interested of peoples.

If this statement is really representative, it almost rules out for the Chinese mind the fundamental ideas of pacifism as we hold it to be—an ideal, not of prudent calculation, but of spiritual vision. But though Chinese pacifism has fallen short of the true ideal, there have been in Chinese history far fewer wars of aggression than in our own history, or in that of any of the other Western Powers. War has been less glorified, the military calling less respected, and the exaltation of military heroes made less prominent. The greatest monument to the race's military achievement is the Great Wall of China, which was built, not for aggressive, but for defensive purposes.

BAD MIXERS

Among those who maintain the necessity of war, we find sometimes a refreshing honesty in the recognition that the principles of war and peace do not mix well. Han Fei, a militarist, writing against pacifism, says:

What are mutually inconsistent should not coexist—rewarding those who cut off heads, and highly esteeming deeds of pity and mercy; granting rank to those who capture cities, and belief in the doctrine of universal love;

and he sums up the inconsistencies by opposing dependence upon an army to the appreciation of culture. This, from a militarist, is surely good and unexpected doctrine.

From Mencius, a follower of Confucius, whose philosophy was mainly pacifist, we get this highly judicious statement:

Perfect charity overcomes its opposite as water overcomes fire; but those who practise charity today seem as if with one cup of water they would save a cartload of faggots on fire; then, when it is not extinguished, they say that water does not extinguish fire.

How nicely applicable is that to the half-hearted policy of "appeasement" of recent years and to the harm which the ineffectiveness of that policy has done to the peace movement!

NOMINAL RELIGION

In the ups and downs of this long story of pacifism of the head rather than of the heart, it is significant that while Buddhism is denounced by the militarists for its dangerous pacifism, it was, and is still, the nominal religion of many who countenance war, not only for defence but for aggression. It is just an instance of how, when a religion becomes institutional in the service of the State, it can be made to mean whatever the State wants it to mean, for the deception of its followers. That is as true of institutional Christianity here in the West as of Buddhism in the East, where it has been so far perverted from its fundamental principles.

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EVERY Catholic should ascertain for himself as clearly as he can the ultimate rights and wrongs of a situation in the light of his faith.

He will, perhaps, demand exactly what is meant by the Christian civilization for whose preservation it is declared we fight: he may ask how much of the significance of Christianity is recognized in a world in which the facts of the Incarnation and Atonement are of infinitely less importance than the latest football result.

We should insist on definition of terms—especially terms with a variety of meaning, like "patriotism" and "pacifism." It is education we need. A positive appreciation of Christian democracy will lead, surely enough, to a just appraisal of militarism, whence pacifism will be seen as an indefinite term varying in its application.

Thus it is sometimes thought that the ethics of war and peace are those of force and non-force. But it is, I believe, quite possible to be a pacifist and yet uphold the right use of force. I may be quite justified in spanking little Tommy because he has been naughty; but I am not thereby justified in indiscriminately spanking also his little sister (still less in dropping bombs on her home).

The pacifist appeal to the New Testament may rest to some extent on the imagination, but has some relevance. Had one of the Apostles, living in these bad times, said "I go a-bombing," and invited the Master to accompany him, is it conceivable that the invitation would have been accepted?

SPIRIT OF PUGNACITY

One thing is sure, that patriotism must be distinguished from the bad animal-blood which would rouse within us all that is worst in the world.

The spirit of pugnacity, so clamorous to censure, to believe anything if it be bad enough, to kindle the fire of passion and hatred till our fingers itch for the fight—how swiftly this temper lays hold of us. We learn to disguise it under brave titles.

This it is, for all its fine names, that remains the beast untamed by the wisdom of the Cross, untouched by the meekness of Jesus Christ. With this evil spirit the faith of Christ can make no terms at all; it bans it. "It proposes not to moderate it but to exorcise it in the name of Him who gave Himself over to humiliation and death rather than permit personal honour to assert itself: in the name of Him, who, when He was reviled, reviled not again" (Scott Holland).

As for militarism, I have seen no better definition of it than that provided by Dr. Vagts when he says that it is a domination by the military mind over the civilian, "an undue dependence of military demands; an emphasis on military considerations, spirit, ideals, and scales of value," in the social life.

Shortly (who knows?), if we would seek examples of applied militarism, we may have no longer to go so far afield as the totalitarian States. The fact that the Anglo-Saxon peoples

by **Rev. J. F. T. PRINCE**

have not known such a thing since the days of Oliver Cromwell and his Puritan Army is alas, no guarantee that we are, when hostilities cease, immune from its most sweeping encroachments.

DANGEROUS MOMENT

"In war time there must be no talk of peace—in war there must be no pacifism, as in peace no militarism." There is the counsel, I know, and it naturally appeals very forcibly just now: "It will be time to talk about peace when we have won the war. Meanwhile, Rome's burning. Win the war: for the moment that's the only job that matters. We're fighting for our lives."

This is a very dangerous moment, but we are apt to forget that one of the chief dangers is that we are likely (precisely at this crucial moment) to start in earnest piling up causes of more trouble in the future. I mean causes within ourselves.

The real spirit of war is necessarily a very desperate spirit and it makes men do and say very rash and sometimes very unjust things. It blinds and makes the blind blinder. These are all commonplace; grave mistakes have been made, injustices done that cannot be laid exclusively at any one particular door.

LESSONS TO LEARN

"Win the war," we are told, "and the rest will follow." But will it? We have lessons to learn from the last war. We remember 1916, toward the end of the year: the military position was critical; there was the choice of fighting to the bitter end, prosecuting the war with increased vigour and thoroughness—or of seizing the opportunities for peace. It was argued that to create opportunities for peace would be taken as surrender to Kaiserism. So the war was fought on, and the achievement at the end of it was the Treaty of Versailles.

For the rest, scapegoat hunting, refusal to look for anything but the immediate causes of war, is puerile and dangerous. Our chief preoccupation as Christians should surely be our own responsibility for causing our own suffering.

I am quite aware that this may seem a very inappropriate moment to talk about peace. I am sure that many people just now think it fantastic even to mention the subject. But I do not agree.

I do not agree, for no other reason than this, that, whenever and however, the present hostilities do ultimately cease, it is only a keen appetite for peace, genuine peace, that will get peace and insist that it is the genuine article. And it is only a mind and instinct trained in the way of peace that can ensure a real and lasting peace.

GROUP NOTES

The Workshop Of The Movement

By **JOHN BARCLAY**

THE gaunt skeletons of burnt-out buildings in the City of London stand as symbols of a bankrupt and derelict society. Their tough outer walls protected nothing of substance within, and twisted girders have lost all their strength. The empty shells of the churches are pathetic. Built for the worship of a God of Love, they have only their architectural beauty to mourn. All talk of a new city built out of the ashes of the old must wait until the people of London have the courage to build a new social system from which the fear of war has been removed. Only then will its buildings be safe and its people happy. It is our work to build the foundations of this social system.

Political faith and wisdom are not enough. Unless our politics are fired by a passionate love of Truth there can be no progress. Expediency will not do; short cuts are for ever banned; our politics must become religion and our religion politics. The

fusing of these two powerful forces is the particular task of this generation of pacifists. The constant pouring out of the human spirit which is needed to set fire to the imagination of others must be followed by times of refreshment and re-fuelling.

Within the framework of the group exists the power both for the welding and the consequent regeneration. The group should become the workshop of the movement, the place from which the new ideas emerge as well as the constant meeting-place of all those working out the details of a new religious, political, and social order.

As in the past, so in the future. The new enthusiasms will spur us on to new endeavours. Study, clear thought, and political understanding—these are urgent, but perhaps the most pressing of all is a vivid imagination which can light up the difficult and dangerous paths that lie immediately ahead. Give us your support, for without your co-operation we can do nothing. However dark the days may seem, if we can keep together we shall succeed.

WORK AMONG GROUPS

New Southgate and Friern Barnet.—The meetings arranged by this group are not confined to weekends; they have launched out on a series of meetings at private houses which take place on various days of the week. All those in the district should get in touch with Miss M. Berridge, 141 Friern Barnet Road, N.11, and the following dates should be specially noted:—

January 25, 3 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Waterfall Road.
January 29, 7.15 p.m., 48 Upper Park Road, N.11.

February 12, 7.15 p.m., 64 Blake Road, N.11.
February 22, 2.30 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Waterfall Road.

February 26, 7.15 p.m., 141 Friern Barnet Road, N.11.

Bermondsey.—In spite of the widespread bombing that Bermondsey has endured, the local group has kept going and, in fact, is

Women's Section

"ORGANIZED REPENTANCE"

THIS, perhaps, rather strange title is taken from a letter of Mrs.

Pethick Lawrence's which I propose to quote in full. Knowing her to be a pacifist of many years standing and very well known for the great work she has done in the cause of women's independence, I asked her for an article for this column, to which request she replied:—

"Alas! an article from me just now, if I wrote quite honestly, would not be acceptable.

"Since this terrible business of war fell upon us, I have been driven to re-examine the foundation of our faith. As a result of this re-examination it appears to me that the pursuit of peace as an end in itself (like the pursuit of happiness as an end in itself) is an illusion.

"It is not a dangerous illusion like the pursuit of power, or the pursuit of an ignorant and greedy self-interest, such as have brought the present frightful disaster of war. Nevertheless, it is an illusion that ends in disappointment and frustration. Peace is inseparable from a just and humane social order.

"The social order created and maintained by so-called democracy was neither just nor humane. But the alternative of a social order dictated by sheer brutality and violence could result in no peace but the peace of death.

"I am appalled by this war as I should be appalled by the Day of Judgment. But we cannot stay its execution by crying 'Peace'; only by organized repentance and deep searchings of heart—now: A new world eventually."

When I had read this I asked myself: "In what way do our opinions differ?" We know and we believe that peace is not and cannot be an end in itself, but we find it impossible to visualize a new social order arising from the result of meeting brutality and violence with brutality and violence.

I therefore asked Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's permission to quote her letter, to which she replied: "I shall be pleased for you to make use of my letter. I agree with you it might start an interesting correspondence and that none of us can give too much thought and be too sincere and open-minded to this vital matter."

In her book *My Part In a Changing World*, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence tells of the shock with which the second congress of the Women's International League at Zurich, in May, 1919, heard of the terms of the Versailles Treaty, and she writes:—"I for one believed then, and believe now, that until the nations who dictated the Versailles peace have atoned for the wrong they inflicted upon the defeated peoples a nemesis will rest upon the world."

This may well be the truth. If it is, then surely it is essential that some other way should be found than another dictated peace. Women are not so afraid of ridicule as men are; perhaps this gives us a special power to proclaim the necessity for repentance as a first step to the new world of which peoples everywhere think so longingly.

And so I leave you with a question: Can women, unafraid of ridicule and determined to work in the right way for the right ends, organize the repentance of a nation?

"None of us can give too much thought and be too sincere."

SYBIL MORRISON

growing in strength and determination. Dr. Alfred Salter MP is an active member, and regularly attends their meetings. He is backed up by the enthusiasm and sincerity of a youthful group. When I met them last Sunday afternoon I heard that their headquarters in Fort Road and all their records had "gone west." Meetings are being arranged weekly and discussions cover a wide ground.

Abingdon.—The Abingdon group, one of the small but constantly active centres of pacifism in the country, work hard and through many channels. Among their activities have been co-operation with the Women's Co-operative Guild, contacts with pacifists evacuated or working in the area on farms, and a study group discussing H. G. Wells' *Commonsense of Peace and War*, to which non-pacifists were invited. They have also co-operated with the Oxford City PPU in starting an emergency fund, and are represented on the Oxford Advisory Committee for helping COs. If other small groups scattered in out-of-the-way places could make their presence felt in the same way that Abingdon does, a very different picture would be the result. The secretary is Miss S. Tathan, Northcourt House, Abingdon, Berks.

City Members.—Although there is a well-established City group which meets every Friday at St. Margaret's Church, Lothbury, it is possible that most of its members live out of the City; but for those members who are still living in the centre of London, I have been asked to give this message: will they get in touch with Miss D. Sharpe 7B Dean Lane Fetter Lane, E.C.4, who hopes to be able to arrange meetings to suit members.

Circulation Notes

... While The Iron Is Hot

By John W. Cowling

THERE'S usually a right and a wrong time to do things, as well as a right and a wrong method. The sale of Peace News is no exception.

I am reminded of this by a note from Kenneth Stockham, of Coventry, saying:

Copies of Peace News and/or leaflets can be left in telephone kiosks. I think the possibilities are greater than in buses or restaurants. I have been doing it for some time, and I believe with useful results.

Although I still believe that buses and restaurants may be good places in which to leave a copy of Peace News—as I suggested recently—this further idea seems to be based on sound psychology. I believe the GPO installed mirrors in kiosks—at any rate in London—because people would scribble aimlessly on directories while waiting for their call to be put through! In the same few moments, therefore, they would probably look at any paper which was there to catch the eye.

Similarly, when introducing the paper to a friend it is sometimes wise not to ask him just to read Peace News, but to draw his attention to a particular article in it dealing with a subject you have been discussing with him. Fasten on the point of greatest interest, for him, in the issue you are giving him.

* * *

This week's hint: If you have any acquaintances who might be interested in Peace News, and they live too far away for you to contact them, let us know. The nearest PPU group will be glad of their names and addresses. One reader who has done this writes: "I may say that at least four of the gentlemen with whom I put you in touch some months ago are now taking P.N., so it is evidently a useful scheme of contact."

And a hint for anyone feeling complacent about circulation in his area—from Harry Walton, of the Stourbridge and Brierley Hill group:

Six months ago I would have told you that our district had reached the saturation point, as far as selling any more copies went. Today? Well, I'm not so sure. We have put on another dozen per week, and I can soon increase sales again by the same amount.

News of C.O.s

THE former Assistant Editor of Peace News, Andrew Stewart, was given unconditional exemption from military service by the tribunal sitting in Glasgow on January 6.

Readers will be sorry to learn that he has to undergo another operation, for which he was to enter hospital this week.

"A fireman's job to-day is as hazardous as a soldier's," said Councillor S. S. Wilson, protesting against the action of Saffron Walden Council in barring a CO from the AFS because of other firemen's threat to resign if he joined. A fireman expressed the fear that "people would mistake us for COs."

ADVISORY BUREAU

Staines.—Mrs. M. C. Dowman, Virginia Water Junior School, Surrey.

Hitler and Napoleon

(Continued from page 1)

we find it infinitely difficult even to acknowledge the possibility, Hitler is liberating Europe from the tyranny of finance-capital. We do not recognize that that is a tyranny. In the British mind the operations of finance-capital are still inextricably entwined with the operations of freedom itself. So that it looks to us as though Hitler were perversely engaged in liberating Europe from liberation.

It is much the same in respect of democracy. We say, and believe, that we are defending democracy; Hitler declares that he is attacking plutocracy, and that in order to rid the world of plutocracy he will fight to the bitter end. The real question at issue is: which is the more faithful description of a social system like ours—democracy or plutocracy? It is, in fact, extraordinarily difficult to decide.

No-one except a blind propagandist could deny that in our democracy the

Experts discuss

PEACE AIMS

A CONSULTATIVE conference of individuals and representatives of organizations specially interested in the problems involved in the making of a desirable peace settlement and a stable international order was held under the auspices of the National Peace Council at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, last weekend.

Out of the diversity of contributions to be expected from a remarkable gathering there emerged a considerable degree of agreement on a few very broad principles. In the discussion of fundamental principles, for example, led by Dr. H. G. Wood, Mr. Ritchie Calder, Mrs. Duncan Harris, the Rev. Henry Carter, and others, there appeared a general acceptance, and welcome, of "the revolution that is happening" and a desire to see the abolition of "the blasphemy of poverty in the midst of plenty." But there was little attempt to discuss how this might be achieved, apart from Mr. P. W. Martin's preference for a form of the German method of Government expenditure combined with price and wage-fixing.

Discussing the political aspects of international policy, Senor de Madariaga emphasized that these must be governed by the principle of "spirit before matter"; it was not what the British Government did after the war that mattered but the spirit in which it did it. This received the general assent of the conference, although he found it possible, under the proviso, to agree with Prof. E. H. Carr that there must be a military occupation of Germany for a time after an Allied victory—an idea strongly repudiated by others in the conference.

Another principle enunciated by Senor de Madariaga, and endorsed by other speakers, was that the State should be regarded as coming between the individual and mankind: "the individual must bow to the State, but the State must bow to Man."

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

Wilfred Wellock described the international economic scene as he saw it, from its recent origins in the progressive closing of markets and the

development of huge monopolies, to its probable future outcome in the division of the world into four great economic units and the spread of totalitarianism. There was wide support for his conclusion that the start of the making of a new world must be a start on the making of a new Britain, involving a change of life and values—"the appreciation of man as man"—but no really widespread agreement with his premise that "political issues would be determined by economic factors."

VICTORY ASSUMED

The implication of his analysis, that the war should be ended in the shortest possible time, was not so much disagreed with by the conference as a whole as put on one side, mainly because a military decision—and one favourable to the Allies—was assumed; though that did not prevent Rosa Hobhouse from pleading for the consideration of pacific means of meeting even military defeat.

Nor did it prevent, on the one hand, Professor Harold Laski from strongly maintaining that the war should be prosecuted until Hitler and Mussolini had fallen—despite his belief that we must have a social revolution by consent, as the only alternative to one by violence and as a prerequisite to Britain's being able to take the lead in reconstructing Europe—or, on the other hand, Mr. R. R. Stokes from urging that it was desirable to propose terms on which to negotiate even with Hitler now, since their success did not depend upon Hitler's trustworthiness but upon their own intrinsic appeal to the people of both sides.

Digests of the more important contributions to the discussions will later be available from the National Peace Council, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

The Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends is planning to present, for some German and Austrian refugees under its care, a free cinema entertainment at Film House, Wardour Street, London, W.1, on February 1, with a programme including the pre-Anschluss Austrian film, *Maskerade* (with Paula Wessely and Anton Walbrook), and two British documentary films, *The Londoners* and *We Live in Two Worlds*.

A delegate conference on "Civil liberty in the colonial empire" will be held in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, on February 15 and 16, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P., with Dr. Harold A. Moody, of Jamaica, as vice-chairman. It is being convened by the National Council for Civil Liberties, from whose address, 37 Great James Street, London W.C.1, further information is obtainable.

INDIVIDUALISM OR SOCIALISM?

To the Editor of Peace News

THERE would appear to be but one fundamental division within the pacifist movement at the present time, and this is a division not uncommon in movements of deep moral and spiritual significance. Broadly, it might be defined in the familiar terms of catholic v. evangelical, or perhaps in more modern but still inadequate nomenclature, socialist v. individualist. A particularly illuminating indication of the nature of this schism may be gained from a comparison between two articles contributed to Peace News for January 3 by Wilfred Wellock and W. N. Dewhurst respectively.

The group I have called evangelical and individualist, of which Dewhurst is representative, views all political, social, and economic evils in terms of personal morality, and regards them as corporate manifestations of individual sin. Dewhurst tells us that capitalism exists because all men—employer and employed alike—are equally greedy, and that the only escape from our present "mess" is the acceptance by the common man of the Christian way of life.

Wellock speaks for the other section of our movement; those of us (for I include myself in this group) who believe that a basic revolution in our whole social structure is an essential preliminary if the common man is to be liberated from his present degradation and to regain his simple human dignity. It becomes daily more evident that there is no Christian way of life within the capitalist system, and that the pacifist is inevitably committed to the creation of a totally new social order. I cannot believe that the pacifist is morally superior to his fellows. Such distinction as he has lies, perhaps, in a greater faith and clearer vision of the ultimate goal of humanity.

Hence, I believe the pacifist has no right to utter the old Protestant platitudes about sin and salvation. It is impudent and abysmally irrelevant. War is a corporate reality, the more so is peace; for peace is no less than a pattern of society in which the individual man may be free to discover God and his own creative destiny: deny this basic social necessity—as capitalism does—and "the acceptance of Christ by the common man" becomes an idle dream.

MAURICE CRANSTON

Chingford.

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